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Empirical Analysis of Rehabilitation Programs for Children in Conflict with the Law at Jayapura Class II Juvenile Correctional Facility

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ABSTRACT

Amid the paradox between the idealism of humanistic child protection regulations and high recidivism rates, this study examines the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs for children in conflict with the law. This study aims to analyze in-depth how the rehabilitation program at the Jayapura Class II JCF operates as a mechanism to reconstruct social bonds. This process is analyzed using Hirschi's Social Control Theory as a framework. Applying an empirical legal method with a case study approach, primary data were collected through semi-structured interviews with officers and juvenile residents as well as participatory observation, and were subsequently analyzed qualitatively. The results indicate that the three main programs—physical and spiritual development, social development, and education—work synergistically as an architecture of social engineering to mend and reinforce the four elements of the social bond. Attachment is built through communal structures. Commitment is instilled through investment in orderliness and the development of future skills. Involvement is ensured through a densely structured schedule. Belief is reconstructed through consistent moral education. A crucial finding reveals that although formal education faces structural constraints, the non-formal skills program is more effective in building commitment. It is concluded that the key to successful rehabilitation lies not in the luxury of facilities, but in an institution's ability to systematically re-weave torn social bonds, which serves as the foundation for the successful rehabilitation and social reintegration of children.

Keywords: *Delinquency; Juvenile; Rehabilitation; Social Control.*

INTRODUCTION

The criminal justice system, which essentially aims to deliver justice and prevent recidivism (Walby et al., 2015; Adiningsih & Batubara, 2025), faces a crucial paradox regarding the handling of children in conflict with the law (Rivanie et al., 2021). On the other hand, the regulatory framework, particularly through Law Number 11 of 2012, explicitly mandates a humanistic approach oriented toward restorative justice (Lestari et al., 2023; Sibuea, 2023). On the other hand, empirical data reveal a worrying reality. A report from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (2024), which recorded 4,749 juvenile cases from January to August 2023, alongside the persistent phenomenon of recidivism, indicates a fundamental gap between legal ideals and the effectiveness of on-the-ground implementation. This situation raises an urgent question: To what extent are current rehabilitation programs capable of effectively reshaping behavior and preventing children from reoffending?

In response to this challenge, the correctional paradigm in Indonesia has undergone a significant evolution from a punitive philosophy toward a rehabilitative approach (Prasetya et al., 2023; Laia, 2024). This shift was solidified in Law Number 22 of 2022. This law juridically transforms the status of juvenile residents from objects of punishment to clients in need of correction, whose basic rights must be fulfilled (Praptomo, 2023). The modern correctional institution, unlike conventional prisons that can create psychological distress and hinder a child's mental development (Yuliarsih et al., 2020), is now designed as a system aimed at restoring the individual (Utari, 2017). This transformation is rooted in a historical awareness that has been developing since 1964 (Ashari & Dewi, 2021), and affirms that legal proceedings

against children must be humanistic, non-repressive, and considerate of the potential mental trauma they may experience (Alghifari & Yusuf, 2025).

The primary focus of the modern correctional system is the rehabilitation program. This program constitutes a structured intervention designed to reconstruct character and foster self-reliance in children (Akbar & Musakkir, 2022). This practice is no longer realized through mere confinement, but rather through guidance and development to build character and sensitivity to social norms (Wilsa, 2018). Its purpose is not simply to fill time, but to reinstate fundamental values through programs that include mentorship, counseling, and the fulfillment of educational rights (Tarwiyah et al., 2024). Through this guidance, children are encouraged to develop a way of thinking aligned with social norms. It enables them to distinguish between right and wrong actions and, ultimately, to find a new, more constructive purpose in life after their release (Efendi & Nurjanah, 2019). The success of these programs serves as the main benchmark for the effectiveness of the juvenile correctional system as a whole.

To gain a deep understanding of why a child tends to engage in deviant behavior and how rehabilitative interventions can be effective, a robust theoretical framework is necessary. Social Control Theory, introduced by Hirschi (1969, 2017), offers a relevant analytical lens. Unlike other theories that ask, "Why do people commit a crime?" Hirschi inverted the question to, "Why do people not commit a crime?" The answer lies in the strength of an individual's social bonds with society. According to this theory, delinquency is not a learned behavior. Instead, it is the logical consequence of weakening or severing four key elements of the social bond: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief (Sunoto et al., 2023). This theory is crucial for analyzing whether rehabilitation programs succeed in strengthening these fragile social bonds.

Numerous studies on rehabilitation programs in juvenile correctional facilities in Indonesia have been conducted. Research by Senandi and Krey (2024), for instance, successfully mapped the types of programs and the obstacles faced at the Jayapura Class II JCF. Similarly, a study by Aprianto et al. (2021) reviewed program implementation at the Palu Class II JCF. Although these studies provide important descriptive and evaluative overviews, a significant research gap remains. To date, few studies have attempted to deeply deconstruct the working mechanisms of rehabilitation programs using the analytical lens of established criminological theory. Existing analyses tend to stop at a descriptive level, failing to explain how and why these programs succeed or fail in reshaping the social bonds of juvenile residents.

This research conducts a case study at the Jayapura Class II Juvenile Correctional Facility (JCF). This institution serves a dual function as both a detention center and a correctional facility (Boymau et al., 2023). The choice of this location is relevant, considering that rehabilitation challenges are influenced by local social and cultural factors. The legal framework for child protection in Indonesia is itself highly

comprehensive. It includes dozens of regulations emphasizing humane treatment, specialized assistance, provision of facilities, and sanctions that consider the best interests of the child (Listyarini, 2017). The imposition of sentences must be carried out in a positive environment that takes into account the child's psychological condition (Chamdani et al., 2024). This study aims to examine how this regulatory idealism is implemented within the context of the programs at the Jayapura Class II JCF.

The primary originality and novelty of this research lie in three aspects. *First*, it is one of the initial attempts to systematically apply the four elements of Hirschi's Social Control Theory as a framework for analyzing empirical data from a JCF in Indonesia. *Second*, this study unites two often-separate perspectives—the subjective experiences of juvenile residents and the views of correctional officers—to obtain a holistic understanding. *Third*, by focusing on a case study in Jayapura, this research offers a contextualization of a Western criminological theory within the unique socio-cultural reality of eastern Indonesia. Its scholarly contribution is to provide empirical validation and new nuances for the application of Social Control Theory outside its original context.

Based on this background, this study aims to analyze in-depth how the rehabilitation program at the Jayapura Class II JCF operates as a social control mechanism in reshaping the attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief of children in conflict with the law. The expected benefits of this research are twofold. Theoretically, it will enrich the criminological and legal literature by providing an empirical validation of Social Control Theory within the context of juvenile corrections in Indonesia. Practically, it will provide evidence-based recommendations that policymakers and practitioners can use to design more effective rehabilitation systems, thereby optimally reducing potential recidivism and achieving rehabilitative goals.

METHOD

This research employs an empirical legal method with a qualitative case study approach (Qamar & Rezah, 2020). This approach was deliberately chosen for its suitability in addressing the research objective, which focuses on understanding the meaning and exploring the subjective experiences of the actors directly involved in the rehabilitation program at the Jayapura Class II JCF. Unlike a normative approach, which is limited to analyzing regulations (law in books), the empirical method enables the researcher to investigate how the law operates in practice (law in action) and how these regulations are interpreted and experienced by individuals (Leeuw & Schmeet, 2016). Consequently, this approach serves as the most appropriate instrument for unraveling the complexities and dynamics of the rehabilitation process that cannot be revealed through a purely textual analysis of legislation.

Data for this study were drawn from both primary and secondary sources to obtain a comprehensive understanding (Sampara & Husen, 2016). Primary data were acquired through semi-structured interviews and participatory observation at the research site (Zhao, 2024). A total of nine key informants were selected using purposive sampling, also known as judgmental sampling (Etikan et al., 2016). The informants consisted of five officials in managerial and operational roles at the JCF who are directly involved in program design and execution, as well as four juvenile residents. The selection of juvenile residents was based on specific criteria. *First*, they were serving sentences for serious criminal offenses. *Second*, they had undergone rehabilitation for more than two years to ensure they possessed in-depth experience. *Third*, they held roles as informal leaders (room leaders) among their peers. To maintain confidentiality and research ethics, the identities of all juvenile residents were anonymized using initials. Secondary data included internal JCF documents, activity reports, population statistics, and relevant laws and regulations.

The primary data collection process was conducted intensively over several weeks in the field. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in a private and conducive atmosphere to establish trust and encourage candor, particularly with the juvenile informants. The interview guide was designed flexibly, revolving around the four elements of Social Control Theory (attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief). However, the guide also provided space to explore other themes that emerged organically from the informants' narratives. Meanwhile, participatory observation was conducted by directly observing various daily activities, including morning sports, cleaning duties, skills training programs, and informal interactions among residents and between residents and officers. Detailed field notes were created to record the social dynamics and context of each rehabilitation program, serving as rich contextual data for interpreting the interview findings.

Data analysis in this study utilized the interactive qualitative analysis framework developed by Miles et al. (2014). This framework consists of three concurrent activities: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification. After all interview data were transcribed and field notes were compiled, the data reduction process began with open coding to identify initial patterns. Subsequently, axial coding was used to group these codes into larger categories, which were then deductively mapped onto the four core elements of Social Control Theory. To ensure the validity of the findings, the data source triangulation technique was systematically applied. This technique involves cross-comparing and verifying information obtained from interviews with juvenile residents, interviews with officers, observational notes, and secondary documents. This verification process allowed the researcher to confirm findings, identify inconsistencies, and ultimately draw robust and scientifically defensible conclusions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the empirical findings of the research, divided into three main sections. The first section provides a factual portrait of the rehabilitation programs conducted at the Jayapura Class II JCF. The second section examines how these programs function as mechanisms for internalizing social control, drawing on the framework of Hirschi's Social Control Theory. Finally, the third section discusses these findings more broadly, placing them in dialogue with existing literature and exploring their theoretical and practical implications for the juvenile correctional system in Indonesia.

A. A Portrait of Rehabilitation Programs at the Jayapura Class II JCF: Empirical Findings

1. Physical and Spiritual Development Programs: The Foundation of Physical and Mental Health

The implementation of rehabilitation programs at the Jayapura Class II JCF is based on the juridical mandate outlined in Article 1 point 10 of Law No. 22 of 2022. This article explicitly defines rehabilitation as an activity to “enhance the quality of personality and self-reliance of inmates and juvenile residents.” Field findings indicate that the first manifestation of this mandate is realized through the Physical and Spiritual Development Programs. These programs are not viewed merely as routine activities but as fundamental, dual-purpose interventions. *First*, they aim to guarantee the fulfillment of the children's basic rights to physical and mental health within an isolated environment. *Second*, they serve as an initial step in laying the foundation for a more complex process of personality rehabilitation.

Operationally, physical development is implemented through a series of structured physical activities each morning. As expressed by Mr. Edi Wahyudi, this effort is designed to provide a controlled space of freedom for the juvenile residents. He stated:¹

“Although the variety is not extensive, we strive to let them be active freely in the morning. We let them go outside for exercise, such as soccer, futsal, badminton, and morning aerobics. The more they move, the healthier we believe their bodies become.”

Observational data confirm that these activities are a crucial time for juvenile residents to channel their energy positively, reduce tension, and interact more fluidly beyond the confines of their residential quarters. A deeper analysis reveals that the objective of physical development extends beyond mere health aspects. From the officers' perspective, sports serve as a form of catharsis—an outlet for energy that, if unmanaged, could manifest as disruptive behavior or

¹Interview with Edi Wahyudi, Head of the Rehabilitation Section, Jayapura Class II JCF, on May 27, 2025.

conflicts among residents. Regular physical activity thus indirectly becomes a tool for behavior management. Furthermore, these activities also serve as an informal arena for instilling values of sportsmanship and teamwork. In games like futsal or badminton, residents implicitly learn rules, respect opponents, and coordinate to achieve a common goal. It represents a micro-simulation of healthy social interaction (Saunders & McArthur, 2020).

On the other hand, spiritual development serves as a complementary pillar focused on building mental health and internalizing moral values. This program is conducted regularly through worship activities tailored to the individual beliefs of each resident. Mr. Aris Setiyono emphasized the importance of this dimension, stating:²

"They regularly participate in religious activities according to their respective beliefs. We hope that this helps them better understand that actions can be right or wrong."

This statement suggests that spiritual development is viewed as an internal tool for shaping a child's moral compass. Previous studies have also consistently shown that spirituality-based interventions positively correlate with decreased aggression and increased self-control in correctional populations (Khahar, 2020; Aprianto et al., 2021). The findings at the Jayapura Class II JCF reinforce this view. Religious activities function not only to fulfill the right to worship but also as a space for reflection and contemplation. Through sermons or guidance from invited religious leaders, residents are encouraged to re-examine their actions from ethical and moral perspectives. This process aims to instill a gradual awareness of the consequences of one's actions, which is an essential foundation for rebuilding a sense of personal responsibility.

Thus, the combination of physical and spiritual development creates a structured daily ecosystem. Mr. Izack Pascalinov explained the logic behind this routine, stating:³

"They are isolated, so we try to ensure they still have the freedom to pursue their hobbies. They have a schedule they must follow, such as waking up, eating, and performing cleaning duties. In addition, we also give them free time, so we hope they live an orderly life while in this facility."

This statement highlights a crucial correctional strategy: striking a balance between structure and freedom. A strict schedule instills discipline, while free time for sports or worship provides the autonomy necessary for maintaining mental health. From a developmental psychology perspective, this

²Interview with Aris Setiyono, Head of the General Affairs Sub-division, Jayapura Class II JCF, on June 17, 2025.

³Interview with Izack Pascalinov, Head of the Education and Community Guidance Sub-section, Jayapura Class II JCF, on May 27, 2025.

predictable and balanced routine is vital for children in crises. The isolation and stigma of being an offender can create a stress-prone environment that triggers the development of maladaptive behaviors. As Hirschi noted in his analysis, unstable and precarious environments can accelerate an individual's exposure to and contamination by criminal norms (Costello & Laub, 2020). Therefore, the officers' efforts to create an "atmosphere as comfortable as possible" through physical and spiritual programs can be interpreted as a conscious attempt to build a positive and protective environment. This environment functions as a buffer against the negative impacts of the correctional process itself.

Ultimately, the Physical and Spiritual Development Program at the Jayapura Class II JCF serves as the foundational stage in the overall rehabilitation architecture. This program simultaneously addresses several fundamental needs: physical health, emotional stability, moral internalization, and the instillation of discipline through routine. By ensuring that the physical and mental well-being of the juvenile residents is maintained and positively influenced, this program prepares them. The goal is to enable them to participate more effectively in subsequent rehabilitation programs that are more focused on skill development and social reintegration. Without this solid foundation, other interventions risk being ineffective.

2. The Social Development Program: Maintaining Bonds with the Outside World

In addition to focusing on the internal development of the individual, the Jayapura Class II JCF consciously implements a Social Development Program. This program is designed as an essential bridge connecting juvenile residents with the outside world. It operates on the awareness that the rehabilitation process cannot occur effectively in total isolation. This intervention aims to mitigate the depersonalizing effects of the correctional institution by actively maintaining and facilitating the children's social bonds, both with the smallest unit of society—the family—and with the broader community.

The primary manifestation of this program is a structured policy of facilitating family visits. This policy is not merely the fulfillment of a procedural right but a strategic therapeutic intervention. Ms. Leona Eliane Marani explained the rationale behind this policy, stating:⁴

"Typically, when children are placed in this facility, we collect data regarding their families. So, we permit them to receive visits on designated days and times. We realize that most of these children understand they did wrong, so we hope their families can also strengthen them as they undergo rehabilitation here."

⁴Interview with Leona Eliane Marani, Head of the Registration and Classification Section, Jayapura Class II JCF, on June 17, 2025.

The statement above underscores two important points. *First*, there is a proactive effort by the JCF to map the child's social network from the outset. *Second*, the family is positioned as a crucial partner in the psychological reinforcement of the juvenile residents. An analysis of this policy reveals a profound understanding of the central role of the family in a child's resilience. From the perspective of child protection law, separating a child from their parents or family must be a last resort and undertaken for the shortest possible duration. By facilitating regular meetings, the JCF actively prevents the severing of affective bonds vital to a child's psychological development. Family visits function as a reality anchor. These moments remind the residents that they still possess an identity beyond their inmate status—as a son, brother, or younger sibling—and that people outside the JCF walls are awaiting their return.

This effort is reinforced by the perspective of another officer who views family interaction as a direct buffer against mental distress. Mr. Edi Wahyudi articulated the psychological objective of this program, stating:⁵

"When facing legal problems like this, children are usually under much stress. So, we try to prevent them from feeling isolated or abandoned by their families. We provide the access and means to ensure the children here can maintain contact with their families."

Data triangulation between this statement and observational findings shows that family visits often become emotional turning points for the juvenile residents. These moments serve as a source of validation, forgiveness, and motivation to participate more earnestly in the rehabilitation program.

Beyond the family sphere, the Social Development Program also involves the active participation of external parties, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), religious communities, and academics. Observational and interview data confirm that visits from these parties are not merely ceremonial in nature. They often take the form of substantive activities, ranging from counseling sessions and handicraft training to informal dialogues. This involvement significantly enriches the social environment within the JCF, which, if populated only by officers and fellow residents, risks becoming a closed and monotonous ecosystem.

The role of these external parties can be analyzed on several layers. On the first layer, they serve as positive alternative role models. They show the residents that there are various constructive life paths outside of their old, potentially delinquent social circles. On the second layer, their presence functions as a form of informal social control over the institution itself, ensuring transparency and accountability in the rehabilitation process. On the

⁵Interview with Edi Wahyudi, Head of the Rehabilitation Section, Jayapura Class II JCF, on May 27, 2025.

third, and most important, layer, this interaction represents the initial step of social reintegration. By interacting with civil society, the residents slowly begin to rebuild the self-confidence and social skills needed to communicate with those outside their immediate circle.

From the officers' perspective, collaboration with external parties is also seen as a vital strategy for overcoming internal resource limitations. Mr. Izack Pascalinov, in a follow-up interview, acknowledged this, stating:⁶

"We usually welcome it when organizations or external parties want to come and engage the children here in activities. Because they are isolated from the outside world, we hope this allows them to be involved in positive activities. They enjoy it, too."

This statement honestly reflects a mutually symbiotic relationship. External parties gain access to carry out their social missions, while the JCF receives a breath of fresh energy, new ideas, and resources that enrich its rehabilitation programs.

Overall, the Social Development Program at the Jayapura Class II JCF is a conscious implementation of the principle that human beings are social creatures whose recovery cannot be separated from their social context. The program operates on two main axes: a vertical axis that maintains the child's relationship with loving authority figures (the family) and a horizontal axis that opens up interaction with the broader community. By consistently maintaining both of these communication channels, the program not only mitigates the negative impacts of detention but also proactively builds the foundation necessary for juvenile residents to be accepted back and function positively within society after their term of rehabilitation ends.

3. The Education Program: A Duality Between Formal Challenges and Vocational Potential

The third pillar of the rehabilitation framework at the Jayapura Class II JCF is the Education Program. This program is the juridical implementation of Article 12 point c of Law Number 22 of 2022, which stipulates that:

"Children and juvenile residents have the right to receive education, instruction, and recreational activities, as well as the opportunity to develop their potential, taking into account their growth and developmental needs."

However, empirical findings from the field reveal a sharp duality in its execution. On the one hand, there is an idealistic effort to provide formal education, which is confronted by significant structural constraints. On the

⁶Interview with Izack Pascalinov, Head of the Education and Community Guidance Sub-section, Jayapura Class II JCF, on May 27, 2025.

other hand, a non-formal, skills-based education program has emerged as a pragmatic solution that demonstrates greater potential for success.

The effort to provide formal education is realized through the provision of learning modules tailored to the children's age levels and guidance from external teachers or tutors. The long-term objective of this program, as articulated by Mr. Edi Wahyudi, is to ensure that juvenile residents do not lose their academic rights. The expectation is that they will have the opportunity to continue their education at higher levels. He explained:⁷

"Although what we provide may still be limited, we hope the children inside can have the opportunity to pursue higher education after they leave this facility. This way, they will no longer be involved in criminal environments or actions."

The vision underlying this statement shows an institutional commitment to viewing residents not as convicts whose futures are lost, but as students whose studies are merely delayed. However, data triangulation between the idealistic statements of officers and the reality experienced by the residents reveals a wide gap. The obstacles faced in providing formal education are multifaceted and systemic. From the officers' perspective, the main challenges are logistical and resource-based, such as inadequate classroom space and a limited number of tutors. However, from the residents' perspective, these constraints are felt more acutely and directly impact the effectiveness of the learning process.

This experience is clearly illustrated in the testimony of informant NN, who provided a vivid portrait of this systemic failure. He recounted:⁸

"We usually study, but we have to stop because it is already late afternoon. The teacher has to go home because this area is far from the city. Usually, if we have a question, we have to postpone it until tomorrow because it is almost time for them to leave."

This statement is crucial. It shows that the problem is not just a lack of resources but also a geographical factor—the remote location of the JCF. This factor directly limits the duration and quality of the teacher-student interaction. The learning process becomes fragmented and incomplete, which can ultimately extinguish the children's motivation to learn.

Further analysis of this phenomenon indicates that the failure to provide adequate formal education is not merely an administrative issue. It has the potential to violate the fundamental rights of the child, as guaranteed by the Constitution and various international legal instruments. When the state takes over the care of a child through the correctional system, it also

⁷Interview with Edi Wahyudi, Head of the Rehabilitation Section, Jayapura Class II JCF, on May 27, 2025.

⁸Interview with NN, a Juvenile Resident, Jayapura Class II JCF, on July 2, 2025.

assumes the responsibility to fulfill all of their rights, including the right to a quality education. This failure creates a paradox: on one hand, the child is being rehabilitated for breaking the law, while on the other, the state itself is potentially failing to meet its own legal obligations toward that child.

As a pragmatic response to the challenges of formal education, the Jayapura Class II JCF often collaborates with external parties. The institution develops non-formal education programs focused on technical skills (hard skills) training. This program is seen as a more realistic alternative pathway to equip juvenile residents with the capital for self-reliance. Various training sessions are organized in practical fields, such as automotive repair (motorcycle mechanics) and furniture making (woodworking), as well as various handicrafts initiated by visiting NGOs.

This skills training program aligns with the concept identified by [Aprianto et al. \(2021\)](#), who stated that skills development is a way to channel and cultivate the natural talents and abilities of juvenile residents. More than just filling time, this training serves as a survival tool for their future. Field findings show that residents exhibit a much higher level of participation and enthusiasm in these activities compared to formal education. It can be interpreted as their seeing a more direct and tangible value in skills training for their future.

The primary objective of this skills training is to arm juvenile residents with competencies that can serve as economic capital after their release. The awareness that the stigma of being an ex-convict will be a major barrier to finding formal employment drives the JCF to foster potential entrepreneurs. By possessing specific skills, such as repairing motorcycles or making furniture, residents are expected to be able to create their own employment opportunities. It can reduce their dependence on the formal job market and significantly lower the risk of their returning to crime due to economic pressures.

Overall, the portrait of the Education Program at the Jayapura Class II JCF is a narrative of adaptation and realism. Amid the systemic failure to provide an ideal formal education, the institution, with the help of external partners, has successfully built a non-formal education program that is not only relevant to the needs of the residents but also has the potential to make a real impact on their futures. This duality ultimately offers an important lesson for the juvenile correctional system: the effectiveness of rehabilitation often lies not in the program that is most ideal on paper, but in the interventions that are most adaptive and responsive to the on-the-ground realities and the concrete needs of the subjects being served.

B. Mechanisms of Social Control Internalization Through Rehabilitation Programs

After presenting an empirical portrait of the rehabilitation programs, the analysis now shifts to address the deeper research question: how do these programs work as mechanisms to internalize social control within the juvenile residents? Using Hirschi's Social Control Theory as an analytical scalpel, this section will deconstruct the process by which the interventions at the Jayapura Class II JCF systematically attempt to reconstruct the four essential elements of social bonds: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. This analysis will demonstrate that the rehabilitation program is not merely a series of activities, but rather an architecture of social engineering designed to re-anchor the child within the normative order of society.

1. The Formation of Attachment within a Communal Structure

The first and most fundamental element in Social Control Theory is attachment. This term refers to an individual's emotional and affective bonds with others, particularly with conventional figures such as parents, teachers, and peers who conform to societal norms. Hirschi argued that when this bond is strong, individuals care about the opinions and feelings of others. This sensitivity acts as a psychological brake, preventing them from engaging in delinquent acts. Many children in conflict with the law arrive at the JCF with their social bonds already damaged or severed. Therefore, the first and most critical task of the rehabilitation program is to reconstruct this attachment, both horizontally (with peers) and vertically (with authority figures).

The development of horizontal attachment is systematically initiated through communal activities that demand interdependence. Routine activities, such as shared cleaning duties or morning sports sessions, described in Subsection A as physical development programs, can be reinterpreted in this analysis as tools of social engineering. When juvenile residents are required to clean their living areas as a group or play futsal on a team, they are compelled to interact, coordinate, and depend on one another to achieve a common goal. This process slowly erodes individualism and builds a sense of community, ultimately transforming a group of isolated individuals into a cohesive social unit.

This structured interaction fosters a sense of collective responsibility and concern for one another. The residents begin to see their peers not as competitors or threats, but as part of an "us" who share a common fate. This attachment becomes the foundation for the emergence of internal group norms. In such an environment, the approval or disapproval of peers carries significant weight, creating an informal social control system that is often more effective than formal supervision by officers.

This mechanism becomes further institutionalized through the formation of an informal social structure within the residential quarters, namely the “room leader” system. The existence of this figure is not merely a delegation of tasks from the officers; it is a manifestation of a trust-based social hierarchy. Informant AB, who is also a room leader, explained this function. He stated:⁹

“We have a room leader in our living quarters. So, if something happens, like someone is sick, we tell the room leader, and the leader will then inform the head of the facility.”

The statement above indicates that the room leader serves as a communication bridge and the primary point of reference for group members. This role can only function if there is attachment and trust from the other members. Furthermore, the room leader also acts as an agent of mediation and enforcement of internal norms, significantly reducing reliance on officer intervention. Informant BA on the same occasion explained his role:¹⁰

“Usually, if there is a fight, the room leader breaks it up. He will mediate. After that, the room leader usually advises them, but if they fight again, we just report it to the officers.”

An analysis of this testimony reveals a tiered conflict resolution process. Conflicts are first attempted to be resolved internally through mediation by a trusted figure (a fellow resident). Reporting to an officer is the last resort. This system implicitly teaches the residents to resolve problems constructively and strengthens their attachment to the internal social structure they have built together.

Alongside horizontal attachment, the rehabilitation program also consciously strives to rebuild vertical attachment—the bond between a child and positive authority figures and conventional society. It is achieved through two main pathways. The first is through the redefinition of the officers’ role, from mere “guards” to “mentors.” By positioning themselves as companions, educators, and figures open to dialogue, the officers slowly transform an antagonistic power dynamic into a supportive and trust-based relationship. This process is crucial for correcting the children’s negative perceptions of authority figures, which is often a root cause of their defiant behavior.

The second pathway is through interaction with external parties, as described in the Social Development Program. Visits from family, NGOs, or religious communities serve as an affirmation that the residents are not entirely rejected by society. These interactions with external figures who show non-judgmental concern become a powerful corrective experience. The residents begin to build emotional attachments with representatives of the

⁹Interview with AB, a Juvenile Resident, Jayapura Class II JCF, on June 13, 2025.

¹⁰Interview with BA, a Juvenile Resident, Jayapura Class II JCF, on June 13, 2025.

normative “outside world,” which in turn fosters a desire to be accepted back into and become a part of that world.

Overall, these findings indicate that the rehabilitation programs at the Jayapura Class II JCF, whether intuitively or structurally, work to re-weave the torn social fabric of the juvenile residents’ attachments. Through the creation of interdependence in communal activities and the formation of informal social structures, horizontal attachment among peers is successfully cultivated. Meanwhile, through the redefinition of officer roles and the facilitation of interaction with the outside world, vertical attachment to authority figures and conventional society is gradually rebuilt. This reconstruction of attachment is a fundamental step. Without it, efforts to instill commitment, involvement, and belief would lack an emotional foundation and risk becoming mere mechanical compliance, rather than genuine internalization.

2. Instilling Commitment Through Responsibility and Consequences

If attachment operates in the emotional and affective realm, the second element of Social Control Theory, commitment, operates in a more rational and calculative one. Hirschi defined commitment as the “investment” an individual has made in a conventional life. The greater a person’s investment in a good reputation, educational achievement, or career prospects, the more they stand to “lose” by committing a delinquent act. Thus, commitment functions as a utilitarian brake, making individuals reluctant to risk breaking the law for fear of losing the investments they have built. An analysis of the rehabilitation programs at the Jayapura Class II JCF reveals several mechanisms systematically designed to build this commitment.

The first mechanism is the instillation of a commitment to orderliness through a strict daily schedule and a series of mandatory rules. The daily routine—from waking up, worship, and cleaning duties to rest periods—which in the previous analysis was seen as a means of instilling discipline, can now be reinterpreted. It can be seen as a process of building an “investment in orderliness.” By consistently following this schedule, the juvenile residents gradually invest their time and energy into a structured and predictable lifestyle, which becomes an achievement to be protected. Any violation of the rules, however small, risks disrupting the stability they have achieved. It creates a simple yet effective cost-benefit calculation.

This commitment is not only individual but is also communally institutionalized through the application of shared responsibility. This mechanism is most evident in the cleaning roster system, where the cleanliness of the residential quarters is a collective responsibility. This system compels each individual to commit to the established standards of hygiene, as the

negligence of one person impacts all residents. It was expressed by informant BA, who stated:¹¹

"We live together in one room, and we each have a schedule. We are usually assigned, for example, to determine who is on duty today for tasks such as cleaning, taking out the trash, or fetching water. Sometimes someone is lazy, so we usually just remind them."

An analysis of this statement reveals a shift from external control (enforced by officers) to internal control (exercised by the residents themselves). The phrase "we usually just remind them" is a manifestation of commitment enforcement at the grassroots level. The residents actively monitor and encourage one another to adhere to their duties, not out of fear of punishment from officers, but because they share a vested interest in maintaining a comfortable living environment. This process effectively transforms rule compliance from a mere individual obligation into a collectively upheld commitment.

This mechanism of collective commitment is further reinforced by a system of communal sanctions. The consequences of a violation committed by one individual are often borne not only by the perpetrator but also by all members of their group. This reality is clearly illustrated in the testimony of informant MN, who recounted:¹²

"Sometimes someone is lazy, so we usually call them out because we are afraid that if one person does not work, our whole room gets punished."

This statement is crucial because it reveals the rational logic behind the peer pressure that occurs. The reprimand is not an act of bullying but a rational strategy to avoid collective loss. From the perspective of Social Control Theory, this system of collective sanctions is a highly potent instrument for building commitment. It drastically increases the "cost" of any deviant act. A resident intending to be lazy or break a rule must now calculate not only the personal sanction for themselves but also the social consequence of the anger or disappointment from their peers, who will share the punishment. This calculation creates immense pressure to commit to group norms, making compliance the most rational and beneficial choice for everyone.

In addition to short-term commitment to order and group norms, the rehabilitation program at the Jayapura Class II JCF also strategically builds long-term commitment through skills training. The non-formal education programs, such as motorcycle mechanics and furniture woodworking, which were previously analyzed as survival tools, can now be understood as a process of "investing in the future." Every hour a resident spends learning a new skill is

¹¹Interview with BA, a Juvenile Resident, Jayapura Class II JCF, on July 2, 2025.

¹²Interview with MN, a Juvenile Resident, Jayapura Class II JCF, on June 13, 2025.

an investment in a new, more positive, and productive identity. The skills they acquire become valuable personal assets, a “stake” in a conventional life that they would not want to forfeit.

Mastering a concrete skill fundamentally alters a resident’s cost-benefit calculus. Before acquiring a skill, the prospect of life after release might seem bleak, and a return to crime could appear to be a rational choice. However, after acquiring a marketable skill that can be a source of legitimate income, the opportunity cost of committing a crime becomes extremely high. The risk of being arrested and imprisoned again means risking the loss of the skill-based capital they have worked so hard to build. Thus, the skills training program effectively builds a commitment to a pro-social future by making it the most rational and economically promising option.

Overall, the rehabilitation programs at the Jayapura Class II JCF not only attempt to appeal to the residents’ hearts by fostering attachment; they also appeal to their reason by instilling a sense of commitment. Through a combination of structured routines, systems of collective responsibility and consequences, and investment in future skills, the residents are gradually taught to make rational calculations. They learn that adherence to norms brings more benefits than costs. The development of this commitment is the second crucial pillar in the architecture of social control, transforming compliance from a mere emotional response into a conscious choice based on a cost-benefit analysis.

3. Enhancing Involvement in Structured Activities

The third element of Social Control Theory, involvement, operates on a simple yet powerful principle: the limitation of time. Hirschi argued that an individual who spends the majority of their time and energy engaged in conventional activities—such as doing homework, participating in extracurriculars, or working—will have less time and opportunity to engage in delinquent behavior. This principle is often summarized in the adage, “idle hands are the devil’s workshop.” An analysis of the program architecture at the Jayapura Class II JCF reveals that this principle of involvement is a central strategy in the daily behavioral management of the juvenile residents.

The architecture of the rehabilitation program at the Jayapura Class II JCF is effectively designed to minimize “empty time,” an unstructured period that often becomes fertile ground for negative thoughts and behaviors. As described in Subsection A, a resident’s day is systematically mapped out, from physical activities in the morning to education or skills programs, worship sessions, and cleaning duties. This mapping of activities can be analyzed as a temporal control strategy. By filling nearly all of the children’s productive

hours with focused and positive activities, the correctional staff proactively eliminates opportunities for them to ruminate, form negative cliques, plan infractions, or engage in conflicts triggered by boredom.

This structuring of time is crucial in a closed institutional environment, such as the JCF. Without structured activities, the abundant energy and creativity of the youth can easily be channeled in destructive directions. The dense daily schedule functions as a “behavioral gatekeeper,” directing the flow of the children’s energy into institutionally determined and approved channels. Constant engagement in these various activities not only prevents negative behavior but also gradually forms a new, more productive and orderly habitus.

The effectiveness of this involvement strategy is not only evident from the program designers’ perspective; it is also validated by the subjective experiences of the juvenile residents themselves. They consciously feel the psychological impact of inactivity. It is vividly captured in the testimony of informant NN, who stated:¹³

“Yes, sometimes we get bored in the facility if there are no activities. So, when people from an organization come, we are usually happy because it gets lively. We are often invited to do crafts, and the visitors also often talk with us.”

This statement provides invaluable empirical data because it demonstrates two fundamental points. *First*, it confirms that boredom is a real and unpleasant condition for the residents. In the context of a total institution, boredom can be a trigger for stress, depression, and aggression. Thus, a program that alleviates boredom is not merely a “time filler”; it is an essential mental health intervention. *Second*, this statement shows that the residents actively desire and appreciate involvement in structured and meaningful activities. They do not reject structure; on the contrary, they welcome it as a release from vacuum and monotony.

The perspective of Mr. Izack Pascalinov reinforces this finding from the officers’ point of view. His statement welcoming external parties to “engage the children here in activities” indicates an awareness that variety in involvement is also key. Monotonous and repetitive engagement can lose its effectiveness over time. Visits from NGOs or external communities serve to inject novelty and diversity into the daily routine, which helps maintain high enthusiasm and participation levels among residents.

Thus, an analysis of the element of involvement shows that the correctional strategy at the Jayapura Class II JCF is far more sophisticated than merely “keeping the children busy.” It is a deliberately designed system for managing time and energy. By densifying the daily schedule with a range of

¹³Interview with NN, a Juvenile Resident, Jayapura Class II JCF, on July 2, 2025.

diverse programs—encompassing physical, spiritual, social, and vocational aspects—the correctional staff succeeds in creating an environment where the opportunity to commit deviance is drastically minimized.

Ultimately, the element of involvement works synergistically with the two preceding elements. Involvement in communal activities strengthens attachment. Involvement in skills training builds commitment to the future. Simultaneously, a high level of involvement directly reduces the opportunity for deviant behavior. It is this combination that forms a comprehensive social control mechanism, one that operates not only through emotional bonds or rational calculations but also through very practical and fundamental behavioral management.

4. Building Belief in Norms and Rules

The fourth and final element of Hirschi's architecture of social control is belief. Belief refers to the extent to which an individual is convinced of the moral validity of social norms and rules. Unlike the other elements, which are more emotional (attachment), rational (commitment), or behavioral (involvement), belief operates in the cognitive and moral realm. Hirschi argued that when a person genuinely believes that society's rules are fair, just, and legitimate, they will feel morally bound to obey them. Conversely, if this belief is weak, rules are merely seen as external obstacles that can be circumvented if the opportunity arises. An in-depth analysis of the Jayapura Class II JCF reveals systematic efforts to reconstruct the belief systems of the juvenile residents, which may have been previously eroded or never fully developed.

This effort to build belief is initiated through formal channels, namely, through explicit educational and moral interventions. The spiritual development program, as previously described, serves as the primary arena for this process. Through religious guidance, residents are taught not only about rituals but also about universal moral principles of right and wrong. This process is reinforced by interactions with external parties, as expressed by informant AB. He stated:¹⁴

“Actually, besides being invited to do activities, we are often reminded by the people who visit from outside that we still have a future. So, we are usually advised to always remember what is good and what is bad before doing something.”

This testimony is highly significant. It shows that the process of instilling belief is carried out not only by formal authority figures (officers) but also by figures from civil society (NGO staff, volunteers). A moral message delivered by an external party often carries greater persuasive power because they are not bound by a formal power dynamic. The “advice” they offer is received not as a

¹⁴Interview with AB, a Juvenile Resident, Jayapura Class II JCF, on July 13, 2025.

command, but as a form of genuine concern. This dialogical process gradually helps residents internalize norms not as a form of coercion, but as a beneficial guide for their daily lives.

In addition to formal inculcation, the building of belief also occurs through daily practices and experiences within the JCF. Consistency in the application of rules is key. When residents see that rules—such as cleaning rosters, rest hours, or consequences for violations—are applied fairly and impartially by the officers, they gradually begin to build respect and trust in the legitimacy of the rule system itself. This process is a form of social learning, where they experience firsthand that living within an orderly and predictable system is not only possible but preferable. The conscious effort to cultivate this compliance was clearly articulated by Mr. Edi Wahyudi, who stated:¹⁵

“Most of these children were led astray. They associated freely so that they could not distinguish between right and wrong. Now, the reason we have rules here is actually to cultivate a sense of obedience. At first, of course, they struggle to adjust, but over time, they eventually come to accept all the rules and activities in the facility well.”

The statement above confirms that rule enforcement at the JCF is not intended to be punitive, but rather educational and habit-forming. The goal is to transform compliance from being situational (due to supervision) to dispositional (becoming part of one’s character). The significance of this belief-building effort becomes starkly clear when contrasted with the life experiences of many residents before they entered the JCF. Many of them come from environments that could be categorized as anomic or normatively vacant, where rules were often absent or inconsistent. This condition is reflected in the honest admission of informant NN, who recounted:¹⁶

“I was led astray by friends. Back then, we all hung out together, so if there was something to do, we did it together. My family also did not care about me, so if we wanted to do something, we did not think about the consequences.”

An analysis of this testimony reveals a fundamental root problem: the absence of effective primary socialization agents (such as the family) to instill belief in norms. The phrases “my family also did not care” and “did not think about the consequences” indicate a moral vacuum that made them vulnerable to the influence of delinquent peer groups. In this context, the JCF functions not only as a correctional institution but also as a substitute socialization agent. It assumes the role that the family failed to perform in introducing and instilling a moral framework of right and wrong, along with the consequences that follow.

¹⁵Interview with Edi Wahyudi, Head of the Rehabilitation Section, Jayapura Class II JCF, on May 27, 2025.

¹⁶Interview with NN, a Juvenile Resident, Jayapura Class II JCF, on July 2, 2025.

Overall, the rehabilitation programs at the Jayapura Class II JCF work comprehensively to reconstruct the element of belief in the juvenile residents. Through formal moral education and consistent enforcement of rules, residents are gradually taught to accept the validity of social norms. This process becomes deeply transformative, as it fills the moral vacuum that was a primary cause of their deviant behavior. With a restored belief in the rules, the other three elements of the social bond—attachment, commitment, and involvement—gain a solid moral foundation. It changes compliance into a choice based on internal conviction.

C. The Relevance of Social Control Theory and Its Implications for the Juvenile Correctional System

The analysis of the rehabilitation programs at the Jayapura Class II JCF through the lens of Hirschi's Social Control Theory yields a significant synthesis of the findings. This research demonstrates that, despite facing resource limitations, the implemented programs operate *de facto* as a "social bond reconstruction workshop." The various existing interventions do not function in isolation; rather, they work synergistically to mend and reinforce the four fragile elements of the social bond within the juvenile residents. The physical and social programs predominantly build attachment. Daily routines and skills training instill a sense of commitment. The density of the schedule ensures involvement. Meanwhile, spiritual guidance and consistent rule enforcement reconstruct belief.

These findings substantially enrich and move beyond previous research. The study by [Senandi and Krey \(2024\)](#) successfully mapped the existing programs and their constraints at the Jayapura Class II JCF. This research takes a step further by explaining how and why these programs work from a theoretical perspective. It confirms their descriptive findings regarding the duality in education. However, it contributes new insight by showing that non-formal skills programs are theoretically more effective because they directly build the element of commitment to the future. Similarly, while the research by [Aprianto et al. \(2021\)](#) at the Palu JCF highlighted the importance of skills training, this study provides the theoretical justification for why such interventions are crucial: they are instruments for altering the residents' cost-benefit calculus.

The primary contribution of this research is filling a gap in the literature by providing an analysis based on criminological theory of juvenile correctional practices in Indonesia. In doing so, this study validates the relevance of Social Control Theory in a context vastly different from its origins. A theory born to explain delinquency in the open society of the United States has demonstrated strong explanatory power when applied within the closed institutional environment of Indonesia. It demonstrates that the mechanisms of social control—based

on emotional bonds, rational investments, behavioral engagement, and moral conviction—have universal validity.

Furthermore, this research also adds new nuances to the application of the theory. The findings on the importance of informal communal structures (like the “room leader” system) and positive peer pressure in instilling attachment and commitment point to a critical insight. In the context of a collectivistic culture such as that in Indonesia, horizontal bonds (among peers) may play a role that is just as, or even more, important than vertical bonds (with authority figures). It suggests the need for adaptation or a different emphasis in the application of Social Control Theory outside of individualistic Western cultural contexts.

From these findings, several practical and actionable policy implications emerge. *First*, for the management of the Jayapura Class II JCF and similar facilities, the findings on the systemic failure of formal education and the success of non-formal education suggest the need for a paradigm shift. Skills training programs should no longer be positioned as an alternative. However, they must become a primary track of rehabilitation that needs to be strengthened through curriculum standardization, certification, and sustainable, strategic partnerships with industry and vocational training institutions.

Second, the success of informal, peer-based control mechanisms, such as the “room leader” system, should not be left to run organically. The JCF could proactively institutionalize and strengthen this peer mentoring model. Senior residents or those who demonstrate positive change could be given leadership and mediation training, allowing them to formally guide their newer peers. This approach not only empowers the residents but has also proven effective in building a collective commitment to norms.

Third, at the national policy level, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights could consider explicitly integrating the principles of Social Control Theory into the guidelines and standard operating procedures (SOPs) for rehabilitation in all JCFs across Indonesia. Training for correctional officers could be enriched with material on the importance of building these four elements of the social bond. By doing so, effective rehabilitation practices would no longer depend solely on the intuition and experience of officers in the field but would be grounded in a tested and evidence-based theoretical framework.

Ultimately, this research affirms that the key to the successful rehabilitation of children in conflict with the law lies not in the grandeur of facilities or the sophistication of programs alone. Success is rooted in an institution’s ability to patiently and systematically re-weave the torn fabric of social bonds. By focusing interventions on building attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief, the correctional system can move beyond a merely custodial function and truly become an agent of transformation, restoring children to the heart of society.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Based on the results and discussion, it can be concluded that the rehabilitation program at the Jayapura Class II JCF, despite facing various resource limitations, operates effectively as a social engineering framework. Its purpose is to reconstruct the social bonds of children in conflict with the law. The answer to the research problem regarding the program's effectiveness lies in its ability to synergistically instill and strengthen the four elements of Hirschi's Social Control Theory. Attachment is rebuilt through communal interaction and supportive relationships. Commitment is instilled through investment in orderliness and the development of future skills. Involvement is ensured through a densely structured schedule. Belief is reconstructed through moral education and consistent enforcement of rules. Thus, this research affirms that the key to successful rehabilitation lies not in the luxury of the facilities, but in the institution's ability to consciously and systematically re-anchor children within the normative order of society.

Stemming from this conclusion, several practical and academic suggestions are formulated. Practically, for the management of the Jayapura Class II JCF and similar institutions, a paradigm shift is recommended. They should prioritize non-formal, skills-based education programs as the primary rehabilitation track, supported by curriculum standardization and strategic partnerships with industry. Furthermore, the informal control mechanisms that have proven effective, such as the "room leader" system, should be institutionalized into a structured peer mentoring program. At the policy level, it is recommended that the Ministry of Law and Human Rights explicitly incorporate the principles of Social Control Theory into the guidelines and training for correctional officers, thereby grounding rehabilitation practices throughout Indonesia in an evidence-based framework. Academically, future research could conduct comparative studies across JCFs with different socio-cultural contexts to further test the varied application and effectiveness of Social Control Theory. Additionally, longitudinal studies could be undertaken to track the post-release trajectories of former residents to measure the long-term impact of these social-bond-based rehabilitation programs.

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